12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1948) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 143

HANDBOOK
OF
SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Editor*

Volume 5

THE TROPICAL FOREST TRIBES

Prepared in Cooperation With the United States Department of State as a Project of the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1948

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

[TITLE PAGE]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

THE TAPIRAPÉ

By Charles Wagley and Eduardo Galvão

INTRODUCTION

Isolated from other *Tupí-Guaraní*-speaking people, the *Tapirapé* live in Central Brazil, west of the Araguaya River and north of the Tapirapé River, a western tributary flowing into the Araguaya near the northern tip of the Island of Bananal (lat. 2° S., long. 52° W.). According to tradition, the *Tapirapé* lived for a time on the banks of the Araguaya and Javahé Rivers with the *Carajá*. They quarreled, and the *Tapirapé* moved west to their present territory (map 1, *No. 1;* see Volume 1, map 7). At the beginning of last century, five *Tapirapé* villages formed a line stretching northward into *Cayapó* country beginning at a point a few miles back from the Tapirapé River about 150 miles from its mouth. The *Tapirapé* have always been at war with the *Cayapó*, except for a brief period. Each of these villages contained at least 200 individuals with a total *Tapirapé* population of about 1,000. Since 1900, however, there has been a terrific reduction of *Tapirapé* population.

In 1939, there was only one remaining *Tapirapé* village situated about 20 miles north of the Tapirapé River with a total population of 147 people. This decline in population is basically due to disease (smallpox, respiratorial diseases, etc.) acquired either directly from Neo-Brazilians or from the *Carajá*, who are continually in contact with Neo-Brazilians. *Tapirapé* groups have been also massacred on several occasions by both the *Carajá* and *Cayapó*.

The *Tapirapé* have had but few contacts, however, with Neo-Brazilians. Except for the demoralizing effect of depopulation, their culture has been little modified. Although stories are told of Neo-Brazilian hunters visiting the *Tapirapé* in 1909, the first registered contact with them was in 1912. During that year, Señor Mantecurt, leading an expedition of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service, visited the village nearest the Tapirapé River. In 1914, the Dominican priests visited the *Tapirapé*. From that date on, the Dominicans returned each year or so to a camp on the Tapirapé River for 3 or 4 days at a time and were met by the *Tapirapé*, to whom they distributed trade goods. About 1934, a Protestant missionary, Frederick Kloppel, made several trips, staying 2 or 3 months in a *Tapirapé* village. In 1935, the first trained ethnologist, Dr. Herbert Baldus, resided several months with the *Tapirapé*, and in 1939-40, Wagley spent 12 months with them making the study on which this article is based.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The region inhabited by the *Tapirapé* is one of dense tropical forest; yet near the Tapirapé River and parallel to its small tributaries, there are great strips of semiarid savanna country characterized by scrub growth and groups of buriti palms. These plains are flooded during the excessive rains from October to April, and they are arid during the latter part of the dry season (May through September).

Farming.—The *Tapirapé* make great clearings in the forest for their villages, traveling occasionally to the savanna country for hunting. Their large gardens guarantee them an economy of abundance. They plant several varieties of both sweet and poisonous manioc, four varieties of maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, carâ (*Dioscorea* sp.) and yams, peanuts, squash, several varieties of bananas and beans, cotton, and papaya.

Each year, from June to September, the men clear away the forest for their gardens. Clearing is frequently done individually; frequently also it is done cooperatively by the men's ceremonial society groups in a work festival (apaĩrõ). When communally prepared, the large clearings are afterward divided into individual garden lots. Gardens are, thus, generally individual property; now and again, however, a younger man plants together with an older man (his father-in-law) or a close relative. When clearing is done by apaĩrõ, plots are allocated for ceremonial society leaders, who use the produce during the harvest feast (kaú) at the end of the rainy season. Vegetation and tree trunks, cut down during the dry season and left to dry, are burned in September. Just after the first rains of October, planting is begun. All crops are planted without order or division within the garden plot, and weeds are never cleared away as the garden grows. All gardening is done by men except the planting and harvesting of peanuts and cotton, which is done entirely by women.

Harvest takes place as the various crops ripen. Maize planted in late October or early November ripens in January; in April and May squash, carâ, beans, etc. begin to ripen. Manioc is harvested as needed throughout the year. All food from the gardens is said to belong to the wife once it is brought into the house.

Garden plots are planted for 2 years and then abandoned. The second year only manioc is generally planted in the plot. Yet each year a new plot is cleared from virgin forest and thus each gardener has generally two current garden plots—one newly cleared and a second-year plot planted with manioc. The lack of virgin forest on high ground for garden clearings within accessible distance to the village, as well as the fear of the spirits of recent dead, force the *Tapirapé* to move their village site each 4 or 5 years to a new site.

Manioc is by far the most important *Tapirapé* crop, as manioc flour is the basis of their diet. Different from other *Tupí* groups, however, the

12; Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1948) 1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Tapirapé do not use the tipiti (the long woven tube in which the water is squeezed from poisonous manioc), but squeeze poisonous manioc with their hands. The pulp is then spread out on a platform in the sun to be thoroughly dried. The flour is toasted in a clay pot over a very hot fire. 252

Wild foods.—Meat is a definite luxury to the agricultural *Tapirapé*. Monkeys, armadillos, forest fowls, cunii (*Nasua* sp.), and both kinds of peccary (*Tayassu tajacu* and *T. pecari*) are occasionally killed in the forest at any time during the year. The hunting and fishing season, however, is from June through October, when the savanna country is dry. The savannas are extraordinarily rich with game. Plains deer, wild pigs, peccary, and wild duck, and geese near the drying swamps are plentiful. 224 [221]

Fish are shot with the bow and arrow and stupefied with timbó (*Piscidicea piscatrix* or *Serjania* sp.) in the almost dry streams and lakes. The village is almost deserted in September and October, after gardens 226 221
have been cleared and before planting. Men, women, and children move out to the plains country near the Tapirapé River and set up a temporary camp. They collect turtle eggs and kill turtles in the river. 222
They gather piquí fruit (*Caryocar villosum*), anilirahu (*Couepia guyanensis*), and other wild fruits, and, from October through November, they find wild honey both on the savannas and in the forest.

Hunting is done with the bow and arrow, but a club is used to finish [224]
the kill, especially wild pigs or jaguars.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

The houses of a *Tapirapé* village form an oval around a large ceremonial men's house (tãkana), which is forbidden to the women. Both the large men's house, approximately 20 by 65 feet (6 by 20 m.), and the residential houses, averaging 13 by 33 feet (4 by 10 m.), have a quadrangular floor plan with arched roofs made by bending flexible poles and tying them together over a roof beam (pl. 19, *bottom, left*). The walls and the roof are covered with leaves of buriti palm and wild banana. 361 342 345

In the surviving village, called Tampitawa, there were nine residential houses, each housing from four to eight simple families. Each family occupies a determined sector of the house where they cook, keep their belongings, and hang their sleeping hammocks. Household utensils, such as baskets, pots, hammocks, and gourds, are owned by the women of each simple family. Houses, though built by men, are said to be the property [423] of the women of the house. The house frame is constructed cooperatively by all the men of the house. Each man covers the portion to be used by his wife and children. 592 422 342

Ideally, residence is matrilocal, and the house is inhabited by a group of closely related women and their husbands. The household leader is generally the husband of the oldest woman of the group (see p. 172). Owing perhaps to great depopulation and the accumulation of refugees [591] 592

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

592 from many villages in the new village, many combinations of relatives now form residential groups.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Both sexes are nude. Men tie the prepuce over the glans penis with a
302 palm fiber. Both men and women pull out pubic, axillary, and all facial
hair. Even eyebrows are considered ugly. Men wear cotton string liga-
301 tures around their legs, just below the knee. Men, and sometimes women,
wear large cotton wrist bands crocheted directly on to their arms. Young
boys and girls sometimes wear similar ornaments on their ankles; these
ornaments are painted with a thick coat of red urucú dye and have round
cuffs, often 2 to 3 inches (5 to 7.5 cm.) wide. Necklaces of beads given
[302] by Neo-Brazilians are highly valued and used almost to excess. Men paint their hair and the calves of their legs red with urucú; both men and women trace a multitude of patterns on their body with black genipa dye.

304 Men have their lower lip pierced and wear a small wooden lip plug.
Two years or so after women have begun sexual life, patterns in the form
of a three-quarter moon are made on their faces by scarification with a paca
[305] (*Cuniculus paca*) tooth knife. Charcoal and plant juices are rubbed into the wounds to leave dark blue designs.

TRANSPORTATION

[501] The *Tapirapé* do not have canoes. All cargoes are carried by the men
492 in a carrying lumpsack made from buriti-palm fibers strapped to their backs.

MANUFACTURES

286 Weaving.—Hammocks are made by women from native cotton spun on
482 wooden spindles. The technique used is the simple twine weaving used by the *Tupinamba* and other *Tupí* groups.

323 Ceramics.—At present, the art of ceramics is declining. Pottery is
482 usually for cooking, and is made by women. Sometimes it bears incised
531 geometrical decorations.

531 Gourds.—Gourds are decorated with geometric incisions.

Basketry.—The most highly developed basketry techniques among the
285 *Tapirapé* are woven and twilled. Two types of baskets are flexible and nonflexible ones; both are of buriti fiber. They generally have a quadrangular base and a narrower, round top, and are used mostly to store manioc or maize flour. Flat, round baskets are used as cotton containers
[531] or flour sifters. They are usually ornamented with motifs originating in the weave itself; frequently the finished basket is smeared with black genipa and odd strands are scraped off, giving a negative decorative effect.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-9 (1939-1948)1948
SPEA Tapirape SPEA

851
292
302

292
761
276

345

292
532
776

Plate 16.—Tapirapé ceremonies and house construction. *Top, left:* Youth in preparation for puberty ceremony. The large, heavy diadems of macaw feathers will be supported by the lock of hair wrapped in cotton cord. *Top, right:* Shaman wearing dangerous ceremonial headdress during Thunder ceremony. He is intoxicated by tobacco and in a trance state. *Bottom, left:* Construction of man's house. *Bottom, right:* Dance masks representing the "Crying Spirit," one of many forest spirits who are said to come to stay for a time in the men's ceremonial house. (Courtesy Charles Wagley.)

[p. 170 A]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP12

Weapons.—Bows have a circular cross section and average about 6 feet (2 m.) in length. The arrows are of cane about 5 feet (1.5 m.) long with heads of bone, hardwood, and the spur from the sting ray (*Potamotrygon histrix*). They have brilliant feathers, sometimes the red and blue feathers of the red macaw. Clubs are made of several polished hardwoods and are sometimes decorated near the blades with woven strands of cane fibers. [411]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Three distinct social groupings are basic in *Tapirapé* social organization: men's ceremonial societies, feast societies, and the kinship groups. [561 616]

Ceremonial societies.—All *Tapirapé* men belong to one of the patrilineal ceremonial societies. Each of these societies is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths (those up to 15 years of age); two groups of men of warrior age (15 to 40 years); and two groups of older men (40 to 60 years). Each group bears the name of a bird, the word "wirã" (bird) being the generic name for the group. These age groups (Baldus, 1937, p. 96, calls them "work groups") function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites at the cooperative work festival; parallel groups also dance against each other in various ceremonials and reciprocally feast each other. Each society owns half of the men's house, and its portion is subdivided into sections owned by the three age grades. The warrior age group of each society has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and communal work, and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. As a man becomes elderly, he entirely drops out of the "bird" groups and is no longer affiliated, as he cannot take part in their economic and ceremonial activities. At present, the *Tapirapé* are so reduced in number that, lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's age grade in order to retain the necessary balance for ceremonials. [345] [423]

Feast groups.—Both men and women are divided into eight feasting groups called tãtãpawã (literally, "for all to eat"). Men belong to their fathers' feast group and women to their mothers'. Feast groups are not only nonexogamic, but people prefer to marry within their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry the names of the mythological heads of the original eight households of the first *Tapirapé* village. They unite at various times throughout the year for ceremonial meals. The feasts take place at traditional spots in the village plaza, at times when there is an abundance of honey, maize, or meat from the hunt. Each member brings his contribution. Baldus (1937, p. 88) calls these "eating groups," and emphasizes that they are consumers' groups providing a means of distributing food when more is available than a family can eat. Today only six groups meet for feasts, two being extinct for lack of members. [574 264 582]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

601 Kinship.—Kinship is more important in furthering solidarity among
[492] the *Tapirapé* than either the societies or the feast groups. *Tapirapé* kin-
[611] ship is bilateral, its chief principle being that all cousins, whether cross- or parallel-cousins, no matter how distant, are considered brothers and sisters. Children of people calling each other siblings are also called siblings. Mother's sisters are called mother, and father's brothers, father. Mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by special terms. Similarly, a man's brothers' children are considered his sons and daughters, and a woman's sisters' children are her children. Children of a man's sisters or a woman's brothers are given special terms.

[621] The wide inclusiveness of kinship affiliation makes it possible for an
[178] individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers—and in former days many people in other villages—by terms of close relationship.

554 An older man of some prestige gathers around him by adoption as many
581 "daughters" or as many of his wife's "daughters" as possible. By the
597 marriage of these "daughters," he attracts a group of younger men within
592 his household who contribute constantly to his larder through the hunt and garden activities. At present, only three of the nine houses in the village were formed in this way, but reduced numbers, we were told, forced various combinations of relatives to share a household.

LIFE CYCLE

842 Childbirth.—Although aware that pregnancy is brought about by sexual intercourse, the *Tapirapé* believe that conception takes place when a shaman, serving as intermediary, brings a "child spirit" to the woman. Thunder, night, monkeys, wild pigs, and various fish and insects are supposed to contain child spirits.

843 When the woman is certain that she is pregnant, she tells her husband. They both paint their bodies with genipa and cover their hair with urucú. During the first few days of pregnancy, no restraints are imposed upon the child's parents, but as birth approaches, all sexual contact must cease.
[851] All men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are considered fathers of the future child, together with the real father.

844 At childbirth the woman is assisted by her mother and sister and by two male relatives. The husband retires to his hammock and is forbidden to partake of any liquid refreshment.

847 Infanticide is practiced because it is considered bad to have more than three children, or two children of the same sex. The fourth child, or third of the same sex, of one mother is buried in a hole dug inside the residence for the afterbirth.

852 On the day after birth, a male child has his lower lip perforated. Until
304 the child is weaned, the parents must refrain from sexual relations and
851 must not eat salt, sugar, honey, or the meat of various animals and forest
262 fowls. Both boys and girls also are restricted in their meat diet. A son

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

A 520

and sometimes a daughter of important people may be treated as a favorite child, being given special attention and education and being highly decorated during various ceremonies in which such children are central figures. Treatment as a "favorite child" brings prestige throughout one's whole life.

Puberty.—When a boy is about 12 years old, he ties his prepuce over the glans penis. His hair is cropped close to his head, and his entire body is painted black with genipa. He substitutes a short mother-of-pearl lip plug for the long loose one worn by young boys. During this time, the boy must sleep in the men's house. His arms and legs are scratched from time to time deep enough to draw blood, so that he will grow strong.

When he is about 14 years old, his hair is allowed to grow and is tied at the nape of his neck. His hair is not cut for a year or two in preparation for his puberty ceremony, which is considered the most important event in a man's life. On the appointed day, the boy is richly ornamented, the main ornament being a large diadem principally of red macaw feathers set in a heavy block of wood (pl. 19, *top, left*). This diadem is supported by the hair and weighs well over 10 pounds. For 24 hours the boy is forced to dance continually under the weight of excessive decoration to prove his endurance.

During a girl's first three menstrual cycles, a geometric pattern is traced with genipa on her body. During this time, she must refrain from sexual relations. There is no special puberty ceremony for girls. Girls are usually already married at puberty, especially at present with the lack of women.

Marriage.—Formerly there was some intervillage antagonism, and people preferred to marry within their own village. Despite such antagonism and the fact that villages were 2 to 3 days' walk apart, considerable intervillage visiting occurred, and genealogies show that intervillage marriage was not rare. Today, with refugees from all villages in the one village, antagonisms and local village patriotism exist only in the memory of older people.

Men marry immediately after the initiation rites, and the women, at least in modern times, at any time after the age of 7 or 8 years. People do not marry cousins who are called "brother" and "sister" of close connection, but marriage with those of distant relationship is not infrequent. Monogamy is the absolute rule.

Because the population has declined and men outnumber women, marriage rules have been somewhat altered. All women have husbands, and there are now about 10 young men waiting for 7- or 8-year old girls. There are also marriages between men and very young pre-adolescent girls; these are brought about because the men are greatly dependent on the women's work. In such cases, the husband goes to live in his wife's house, where his mother-in-law helps the girl work for him.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 TapirapéSP22

Until the first child is born, marriage bonds are rather weak, but henceforth the marriage is comparatively stable. There are, however, frequent cases of adultery, and a guilty woman who is found out is brutalized by her husband. When a marriage is dissolved, the man leaves the house, which is considered the wife's property, although built by him.

Upon a man's death, his widow remains in the house. After about 2 months of free sexual relations, she chooses a new husband.

Death.—The *Tapirapé* believe that death is brought about by sorcery and never by natural causes. Frequently, when the children of the deceased enjoyed sufficient prestige, they kill the shaman whom they suspect.

As soon as it is certain that the sick man will die, weeping begins in the form of a wailing dirge by both men and women. The men dance around the hammock of the dying or dead man, while the women remain seated on the ground. Burial takes place on the day after death. The corpse is stretched out on the hammock. Its feet and hair are decorated with urucú dye, and its face is painted black with genipa. The grave is dug in the dead man's house under the place where his hammock was usually hung. The body is buried in the hammock, which is set up in the grave between two poles. All contact with the earth is avoided. Personal possessions of the deceased are buried with him, except that all feather ornaments and bows and arrows are burned.

Five days after the funeral, the relatives walk in file to the ceremonial hut, where they leave the spirit of the dead man. The waling goes on for many days, sometimes months, and always takes place at sunset. Close-cropped hair is a token of mourning for both sexes.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Obvious esthetic pleasure is derived from skillfully done basketwork; a good workman will destroy a basket which is not turning out well, even though it would serve as a receptacle. Great care is made of highly colored feathers; feathers are both tied and stuck with resin and wax on to the object to be decorated. Elaborate geometric designs are painted on children's bodies with genipa. The incised work on gourds is also especially striking.

Musical instruments.—Gourd rattles are frequently used to keep time to singing. No sacred powers are attributed to rattle. During the shamanistic ceremony (p. 177), a bamboo trunk is pounded against the ground in time to the music.

Music.—By far the most important *Tapirapé* pastime is singing. A man with a good voice and a large repertoire of songs is much admired by the community. All ceremonies are, basically, singing festivals. Each ceremony during the year has a large set of specific songs: those to be sung by the shaman during the shamanistic "battle with Thunder" (p. 177);

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1948) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

those for group singing during the harvest ceremonies and the ceremony of kawi (p. 176); those for the masked dancers during the dry season; and a very large number of songs specifically for the "Big Sing" (monãhãhã) during the latter part of the rainy season. During this period (approximately March through April), singing takes place throughout each night from sundown to sunrise. On these occasions, the singing leader and the men of one of the moieties introduce the verse of each song and the refrain is then taken up by the men of the other moiety and the women of the tribe. Women sing in a higher key than the men and, generally, a phrase behind the men. The songs of the masked dancers, each representing a supernatural being, differ stylistically from those used on other occasions in being sung in a falsetto tone, in a manner similar to that of the neighboring *Carajá*. Many such songs have been admittedly learned from the *Carajá*.

535 [24]

Dancing.—Both men and women dance as they sing. In general, the *Tapirapé* dance bending slightly forward, stamping out the time of the music with one foot. Dancing differs greatly, however, according to the occasion. During the harvest ceremonies, men dance in a line, side by side, each man's wife dancing directly behind him. During the group singing of the "Big Sing," the men dance in moiety groups facing each other, and women dance behind the moiety group of their husbands. On one occasion during this time, men dance with women, side by side, with a curious skipping step.

526 [171] [525]

Games.—Men's moieties run foot races against each other after the communal work festival (p. 168); they race in a straight line across the village plaza. Wrestling takes place at one wet-season ceremony, and, now and again, throughout the year as sport. The *Tapirapé* explain, however, that the *Carajá* are better wrestlers and that it is more properly a *Carajá* sport. In wrestling, opponents stand face to face, grasping each other about the neck, and attempt to force or to trip the other to the ground. During one festival, men, one from each moiety at a time, compete by throwing blunt-headed spears at each other. Gambling games are unknown.

276 755 [751] 276 756 [789]

Stimulants.—Native tobacco, though used for leisure-time smoking, is principally a stimulant and medicine. A *Tapirapé* will not travel without a supply of tobacco to blow smoke over his tired body at the end of the day, in order to take out soreness and tiredness. Tobacco is necessary to shamans in all their activities. They blow tobacco smoke over the patient in curing (p. 177), and, to induce dreams and a trance, they swallow large gulps of smoke until they become intoxicated and nauseated. When people have seen ghosts, shamans fumigate them with tobacco smoke, in order to drive away the ghost's influence. Shamans fumigate new maize, the first honey of the season and, sometimes, fresh meat to drive out possible supernatural danger. This native tobacco is smoked

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

by laymen in short tubular wooden or clay pipes and by shamans, in tubular clay pipes, sometimes 12 inches (30 cm.) long.

The *Tapirapé* do not routinely plant tobacco as other crops. Occasionally, it is transplanted from scattered patches around the gardens and village to near the houses or gardens, but usually the patches merely seed themselves. A person who discovers a new patch, hastily surrounds it with a low fence to show his ownership of it.

No alcoholic beverages are known to the *Tapirapé*. Beverages made from manioc and maize are prepared as a food and are not allowed to ferment.

RELIGION

Tapirapé religion is based on the belief in two kinds of supernatural beings—disembodied souls of the dead, and malignant forest spirits of many kinds—both designated by one generic term, anẽnga (spirit or shadow).

The anẽnga likewers, human spirits or ghosts (aña or anẽnga among the *Tapiracuba*), live in abandoned villages and frequently come near to the villages of the living "because they are cold" and try to warm themselves close to the houses. The *Tapirapé* are afraid of meeting them and try not to go out at night, when the ghosts most frequently appear.

Souls of the dead continue to live for an undetermined period of time, then die and are transformed into animals. Anyone who hears the croak of a kururú frog (*Pipa pipa*) knows that it is the soul of a leader. A pigeon is the soul of a common man; a paca, that of a woman. The souls of the shamans have a different fate; they go to join Thunder.

In addition to the souls of the dead, there is a large number of malignant beings, also called anẽnga, who dwell in the forest. They are very dangerous and kill as many *Tapirapé* as they find. Waré, a legendary hero and a great shaman, had the distinction of killing many anẽnga, among whom were the awaiú anẽnga, by setting their long coarse hair on fire. The mumpianẽnga were beings who killed men in order to drink their blood. Some of these forest spirits have become domesticated by the *Tapirapé*, thanks to the powers of their shamans. Several times the *Tapirapé* men dance with masks representing the visiting spirits (pl. 19, *bottom, right*).

Rites.—The real ceremonial season is the rainy season, when the people are thrown together because they can neither farm nor hunt. Mask dances celebrate the visits of the various spirits (anẽnga) to the men's house during the dry season. At the end of the rainy season the harvest ceremonial (kaõ) and the ceremony of kawi (a soupllke beverage made of sweet manioc or of maize) are held.

In the first few months of the rainy season, when the maize crop is threatened by electrical storms and by the first heavy rains, the shamans

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

are called upon to fight Thunder. This, the important *Tapirapé* ceremony, lasts for 4 days, and is the high point of shamanistic activity.

Kanewara, the Thunder, lives on distant Maraiwa surrounded by the souls of dead shamans and by the tupã (probably equivalent to the *Tupinambá* word, "tupan"), small anthropomorphic beings whose bodies are covered with white hair.

The tupã travel through space in their canoes (half gourds), the sound of which produces the noise of the storm. The arrows which the tupã shoot cause lightning. During the ceremony, the shamans, completely intoxicated by the tobacco and stimulated by the increasing dancing and singing, fall into a trance (pl. 19, *top, right*) during which they travel to Thunder's house in order to fight him. Thunder sets the tupã against the shamans, who, wounded by the arrows of "Thunder's creatures," fall into unconsciousness.

SHAMANISM

The *Tapirapé* can visualize the supernatural world through the reports of the dreams of their shamans, whose power grows in proportion to their ability to dream. A dream is a voyage, during which the soul frees itself of the body and travels through space. In these dreams the shamans travel to regions which are entirely unknown to the living, and in general are inhabited by spirits. With their powers, the shamans succeed in taming some of the spirits, who then become their familiar spirits. The power and prestige of the shaman (*pazé*) depend on the number of his familiar spirits.

The *Tapirapé* speak of battles between shamans wherein each calls out his familiar spirits against the other while dreaming. More often, a shaman sets his familiar spirits upon laymen and kills them. A shaman may also kill his victim during a dream by throwing a malignant object, usually a piece of bone or a worm, into his body.

The victims of sorcery appeal to friendly shamans, who attempt to cure them by extracting the malignant object by suction, massage, and blowing tobacco. When many deaths occur simultaneously and the *Tapirapé* suspect a certain shaman of having caused them, they do not hesitate to kill him. One man recalled that during his lifetime 10 shamans suspected of sorcery had been killed. He himself had killed a shaman whom he suspected of having killed his brother. In spite of the constant suspicion surrounding them, the shamans do not employ mechanical techniques or sympathetic magic in sorcery.

The shamans make great use of tobacco, which is essential for healing and dreaming. They smoke it in large tubular clay pipes. Cures usually take place at dusk. The shaman squats by the patient's hammock and smokes for a long time, becoming intoxicated and blowing the smoke from the pipe over the patient's body. He then massages the patient,

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1948)1948
SP12 Tapirapé SP12

rubbing toward the extremities of his body. If he fails to extract the malignant object in this fashion, he sucks it out, swallows it, then vomits it up.

At one time, during an epidemic of fever, a shaman used a different method. He prepared a mixture of honey and water, and, after much smoking, spewed it out over the patients and on the houses where there were sick people.

Besides healing, the shamans must protect the people against dangerous spirits (*anhangs*); they call forth "children's spirits" without which there can be no conception; they prevent wild animals from harming the *Tapirapé* during great hunting or fishing expeditions; and they increase the number of peccaries in the woods. It is also believed that they divine the future in their dreams.

The prestige of shamans is such among the *Tapirapé* that almost all leaders of communities as well as of ceremonial society groups and household heads are shamans. As shamans receive payment for successful cures, they accumulate many possessions which they redistribute at a yearly ceremonial. Liberality is essential to prestige in this society where avarice is particularly despised.

MYTHOLOGY

Tapirapé myths fall into two categories: legends telling of the deeds of ancestral heroes, and tales of animals. In the latter, the tortoise (*Testudo tabulata*) is noted for his shrewdness in his dealings with the other animals of the jungle. These stories follow the general *Tupí* pattern.

Among the various *Tapirapé* heroes are Apêwemmu and Petura. The former descended from heaven and lived with the *Tapirapé*. He taught them to plant and harvest cotton, manioc, and maize. When he was old, Apêwemmu returned to heaven and changed himself into a star.

Petura stole fire from the buzzards and brought light to the *Tapirapé*, who until then had not seen day. It is also told of Petura that he stole hatchets and knives from the emu and gave them to the *Tapirapé*.

Tzawamanã is famous for a series of songs which tell of his adventures among the mythical *anpiawa*, enemies of the *Tapirapé*, who made him die a lingering death. Wanêma, a great shaman, had his whole house, including his family and belongings, transported to heaven by Kanawana, the Thunder. Waré was another shaman who killed many dangerous forest spirits.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baldus, 1935, 1937; Nimuendajú, 1914, 1917; Métraux, 1927; Wagley, 1940 a, 1940 b, 1943 b.